

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-08

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ISO-00 EURE-00 IO-03 CU-01 NSC-05 NSCE-00

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O P 181650Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1059

INFO USMISSION GENEVA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS PRIORITY

USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI PRIORITY

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 COPENHAGEN 1724

NOFORN

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE, PFOR, XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: EC POLITICAL DIRECTORS PAPER FOR FONMINS

SUMMARY: THE DANES HAVE PASSED US (IN STRICT CONFIDENCE)

THE TEXT OF A PAPER ON CSCE WHICH WAS AGREED AT THE JUNE 16

POLITICAL DIRECTORS MEETING. THE PAPER REFLECTS THE NINE'S

AGREEMENT ON FOLLOW-UP AND POINTS TO CONCLUDING DECISIONS

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AT THE JUNE 24 EC FOREIGN MINISTERS MEETING WHICH WOULD GIVE

A GREEN LIGHT TO A LATE JULY SUMMIT. THE DANES BELIEVE THAT NO IMPORTANT ISSUES REMAIN UNRESOLVED BUT THE BRITISH EMBASSY HERE DISAGREES AND ASSERTS THAT THE FRG HAS NOT ACCEPTED A BILATERAL US-SOVIET AGREEMENT ON CBM'S. END SUMMARY.

1. ON HIS RETURN FROM DUBLIN JUNE 17, FRIIS-MOLLER, CSCE OFFICER AT THE MFA, IN CONFIDENCE GAVE POLCOUNS TEXT OF THE PAPER ON CSCE AGREED AMONG THE NINE POLITICAL DIRECTORS AT DUBLIN. (FACT THAT THE DANES GAVE US THIS TEXT SHOULD NOT BE REVEALED.) FOLLOWING IS AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE FRENCH ORIGINAL (FRIIS-MOLLER'S COMMENTS ARE IN PARENS):

BEGIN QUOTE: THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE TOOK NOTE OF REPORT CP(75) 19 P OF THE SUB-COMMITTEE AND THE AD HOC GROUP.

(1) CONCERNING THE QUESTION OF FOLLOW-UP TO THE CONFERENCE, IN THE LIGHT OF THE EFFORT SUPPLIED BY THE DANISH DELEGATION TO BRING UP TO DATE THE DRAFT PRESENTED APRIL 26, 1974, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS DIRECTED PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE FOLLOWING POINTS AND IN THIS SPIRIT HAS DEFINED THE PRECISE ORIENTATION OF THE INTENTIONS OF THE DELEGATIONS OF THE NINE IN GENEVA:

A) GIVEN THE PRESENT OUTLOOK FOR AN EARLY COMPLETION OF THE WORK, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS DECIDED TO RETAIN THE DATE OF 1977 FOR THE MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS. THIS MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE DURING THE SECOND HALF OF THAT YEAR, IMPLYING AN INTERMEDIATE PERIOD OF TWO TO TWO-AND-A-HALF YEARS.

B) A PREPARATORY TECHNICAL MEETING WILL BE HELD NO MORE THAN TWO MONTHS BEFORE THE MEETING OF THE HIGH OFFICIALS WHICH WILL PERMIT IT TO ESTABLISH, IN THE REVISED DANISH TEXT, A DATE ABOUT 24 MONTHS AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THE CSCE. (THIS WAS A CONCESSION TO THE FRENCH WHO DID NOT WANT THE EXPERTS MEETING TO GAIN A POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE SEPARATE FROM THAT OF THE HIGH OFFICIALS.)

C) THE DURATION OF THE MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS WILL BE LIMITED. IN CASE THE WORK REQUIRES IT, THESE DELIBERATIONS
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COULD BE SUSPENDED AND RESUMED LATER WITH THE CONCURRENCE OF THE PARTICIPANTS. (THE FRENCH WANTED TO SET OUT THEIR VETO RIGHT TO A POSSIBLE TWO-STAGE MEETING OF HIGH OFFICIALS.)

D) IN ORDER FOR THE PARTICIPATING STATES TO RETAIN INDISPENSABLE CONTROL OF THE EXPERTS MEETING IN THE MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK, PARAGRAPH 1C OF THE DANISH DRAFT IS AMENDED IN THE WAY ILLUSTRATED BY THE FOLLOWING EXAMPLES:

- "APRES EN AVOIR DEFINI ENTRE EUX AU SEIN DE
CELLES-CI LES CONDITIONS APPROPRIEES" AU LIEU DE "WHEREEVER
POSSIBLE".

- REPLACE "OR ON THE INITIATIVE OF CERTAIN STATES
TO CONVENE MEETINGS OF EXPERTS ENVISAGED BY THE CONFERENCE
SUCH MEETINGS TO BE CONDUCTED ACCORDING TO MODALITIES DECIDED
BY CONSENSUS WHERE THESE MODALITIES HAVE NOT BEEN SPECIFIED
IN THE TEXTS" WITH THE PHRASE: "OR ON THE INITIATIVE OF CERTAIN
STATES TO ORGANIZE MEETINGS OF EXPERTS ENVISAGED BY THE
CONFERENCE, SUCH MEETINGS TO BE CONVENED AND CONDUCTED
ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLE OF CONSENSUS...."

(2) AS REGARDS THE FINAL ACT, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE
HAS DECIDED THAT THE NINE CAN ACCEPT SIGNATURE FOLLOWING THE
TOTALITY OF ALL THE TEXTS BY ADDING TO THE FINAL DOCUMENT A
PHRASE THAT WOULD EMPHASIZE ITS NON-JURIDICAL CHARACTER.
THE NINE MUST BE CAREFUL ABOUT THE DRAFTING OF PHRASES OF A
POLITICAL CHARACTER AND OF THEIR POSITION (IN THE TEXT).

(3) CONCERNING THE PARTICIPATION OF THE COMMUNITY
IN THE APPROVAL OF TEXTS, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE IS OF THE
OPINION THAT IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE THAT THE DOUBLE CHARACTER
OF THE SIGNATURE TO BE GIVEN BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
COUNTRY EXERCISING THE PRESIDENCY BE REFLECTED IN AN EXPLICIT
MANNER IN THE FINAL ACT.

IN TAKING ACCOUNT OF VIEWS EXPRESSED, THE PRESIDENCY
WILL CONTINUE TO ASSURE THE COORDINATION OF THE DRAFTING OF
THE DECLARATION TO BE MADE IN THE NAME OF THE COMMUNITY
AT THE THIRD STAGE.

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O P 181650Z JUN 75

FM AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1060
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NOFORN

LIMDIS

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

(4) WITH THE AIM OF FINDING A SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM
RAISED BY THE LAST MALTESE PROPOSAL AND IN VIEW OF ASSURING
AN UNCONDITIONAL ACCEPTANCE BY MALTA OF THE TEXTS OF THE CON-
FERENCE AS WELL AS THE SCENARIO FORESEEN FOR THE THIRD STAGE,
THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE NOTES WITH INTEREST THE SUGGESTION
TO INCLUDE IN THE DOCUMENT ON THE MEDITERRANEAN A REFERENCE
TO THE MULTILATERAL PROCESS BEGUN BY THE CONFERENCE. THE
IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING CLOSE CONSULTATION ON THIS SUBJECT
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WITH OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES IS STRESSED.

(5) THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE EXCHANGED VIEWS ON THE
DEMARCHES MADE BY TURKEY IN THE CAPITALS ON THE SUBJECT OF
THE REPRESENTATION OF CYPRUS IN THE THIRD STAGE OF THE CONFER-
ENCE. IT WAS NOTED THAT THIS PROBLEM, WHICH DOES NOT RAISE
A JURIDICAL PROBLEM FOR THE NINE, INTERESTS ALL THE OTHER
PARTICIPATING COUNTRIES AS WELL AS THE NINE. (SINCE THE NINE
ALL RECOGNIZE CYPRUS, THEY--OR AT LEAST THE DANES--
CANNOT DISPUTE MAKARIOS' RIGHT TO ATTEND.)

(6) IN VIEW OF THE UPCOMING HEADS OF GOVERNMENT MEETING
JULY 16 - 17, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE HAS INSTRUCTED THE CSCE
SUBCOMMITTEE TO PREPARE FOR ITS NEXT MEETING A COMMON
EVALUATION OF THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE. (THESE INSTRUC-
TIONS WILL PROBABLY BE OVERTAKEN BY EVENTS.)

(7) IN LIGHT OF THE PROPOSALS SUGGESTING THE BEGINNING OF THE THIRD STAGE TOWARD THE END OF JULY, THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS THAT THE MINISTERS, AT THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL JUNE 24, EXAMINE THE QUESTION OF THE SCHEDULE OF THE CONFERENCE. IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT THE RESPONSE TO THE (SOVIET) DEMARCHES ABOUT ESTABLISHING A DATE COULD BE USED TO STATE THE IMPORTANCE THAT IS ATTACHED TO RESOLVING PROBLEMS STILL IN QUESTION, SUCH AS FOLLOW-UP, CBMS, LANGUAGE OF THE POLITICAL PREAMBLE, AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE FINAL ACT. END QUOTE.

2. IN SEPARATE DISCUSSIONS WITH THE CHARGE AND POLCOUNS, BOTH MFA POLITICAL DIRECTOR OTTO BORCH AND FRIIS-MOLLER EXPRESSED SATISFACTION THAT THE FRENCH OPPOSITION TO A FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCE BEFORE 1978 HAD FALLEN AWAY. THIS RESULTED IN THE LANGUAGE SET OUT IN PARA (1,A) ABOVE. FRIIS-MOLLER SAID THAT THE MOST RECENT SUGGESTED DATE FOR CONVENING THE CONFERENCE, JULY 22, WAS MADE BY SOVIET AM-BASSADORS IN THE CAPITALS OF THE NINE.

3. REGARDING THE RESERVATIONS CONTAINED IN THE LAST SENTENCE OF PARA (7) ABOVE, FRIIS-MOLLER SAID HE BELIEVED THAT THE REMAINING PIECES CAN BE PUT IN PLACE SO AS TO ALLOW THE JUNE 24 COUNCIL MEETING OF THE NINE TO GIVE THE GREEN LIGHT
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TO PROCEED WITH ARRANGEMENTS FOR A JULY SUMMIT. HE HOPES THE COUNCIL WILL BE ABLE TO RESIST PRESSURES--FROM THE DUTCH, FOR EXAMPLE--TO TRY OUT A "YES, IF..." APPROACH WITH THE FINNS. IN SPEAKING SPECIFICALLY OF THE FOUR RESERVATIONS, FRIIS-MOLLER EXPRESSED CONFIDENCE THAT THE FRAMEWORK OF FOLLOW-UP, NOW AGREED AMONG THE NINE, WILL ALSO BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS AND WAS OPTIMISTIC THAT COMPROMISE COULD BE REACHED WITH THE NEUTRALS AND NON-ALIGNED.

4. ON CBM'S, HE COMMENTED THAT THE US AND THE SOVIETS HAVE REACHED AGREEMENT ON PARAMETERS WHICH IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG. (THE BRITISH DCM HERE, HOWEVER, IN A JUNE 18 CONVERSATION WITH POLCOUNS SAID THAT THIS AGREEMENT CAUSED SOME CONSTERNATION AMONG THE NINE WHO JUDGED THE GREATER SOVIET CONCESSIONS COULD HAVE BEEN OBTAINED; IT WAS HIS UNDERSTANDING THAT THE BILATERAL SOVIET-AMERICAN AGREEMENT WAS NOT RPT NOT ACCEPTABLE TO THE FRG. WHEREAS THE BILATERAL COMPROMISE IS SAID TO PROVIDE FOR A MANEUVER PARAMETER OF 250 KILOMETERS, THE GERMANS ARE STRONGLY HOLDING OUT FOR 300 KMS. THIS POSITION IS BASED, AMONG OTHER CONSIDERATIONS, ON GERMAN BELIEF THAT SUCH A DISTANCE IS ESSENTIAL FOR MBFR PURPOSES AND THAT, IN THAT CONTEXT, THE SOVIETS WOULD AGREE TO NO MORE THAN PROVIDED IN CSCE.)

5. THE OTHER TWO RESERVATIONS NOTED IN THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS PAPER -- THE POLITICAL PREAMBLE AND THE STRUTURE OF THE FINAL ACT -- CAN BE WORKED OUT, ACCORIDNG TO FRIIS-MOLLER, WITHOUT INSUPERABLE DIFFICULTY. HE DOUBTED, HOWEVER, THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ACCEPT THE SIGNATURE BY THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COUNTRY OCCUPYING THE EC PRESIDENCY AS BINDING THE INDIVIDUAL NATIONS OF THE NINE. THIS POSITION PRESUMABLY WILL HAVE TO BE MODIFIED AT THE JUNE 24 COUNCIL MEETING.
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